

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02
SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 TRSE-00
ERDA-05 L-03 /078 R

DRAFTED BY ACDA/MA:AFNEIDLE:PM/DCA:LBRECKON
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY
ACDA/D:SMKEENY
PM:LGELB
S/MS:MSHULMAN
EUR/RPM:JHAWES
IO/UNP:GHELMAN
EUR/SOV:GMATHEWS
EUR/WE:EBEIGEL

-----071457 260148Z /65

R 252043Z JUL 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T STATE 173564

USSALT TWO FOR WARNKE AND DAVIES, CCD DEL FOR FISHER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CCD, PARM, US, UR, FR

SUBJECT: SOVIET DEMARCHE ON FRENCH CCD MEMBERSHIP

REF: PARIS 17318

1. SUMMARY: ON JULY 12 AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN LEFT WITH US A
PAPER PROVIDING SOME SOVIET VIEWS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF
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FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN THE CCD AND REQUESTING US VIEWS.
TEXT OF SOVIET PAPER, WHICH YOU MAY PROVIDE TO THE FRENCH,
IS CONTAINED PARA 5 BELOW, AND POINTS WE WOULD MAKE IN RE-
PLY ARE AT PARA 6. WE PROPOSE TO RESPOND THAT WE WOULD LOOK
POSITIVELY TOWARD THE POSSIBILITY OF FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN
THE CCD, AND WOULD WANT TO DISCUSS WITH THE USSR ANY SPECIF-
IC PROPOSALS FOR CHANGES THAT MIGHT RESULT FROM A MOVE BY

THE FRENCH. BEFORE GIVING THE SOVIETS OUR REPLY, WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE FRENCH REACTIONS TO IT, AND TO LEARN CURRENT FRENCH THINKING ON CCD. END SUMMARY.

2. OUR OBJECTIVES IN DISCUSSING CCD PARTICIPATION WITH THE FRENCH, AND REPLYING TO THE SOVIETS, WILL BE TO CONVEY A POSITIVE VIEW IN PRINCIPLE TOWARD FRENCH PARTICIPATION, AND TO INDICATE WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER FLEXIBLY ALTERNATIVE CHAIRMANSHIP ARRANGEMENTS THAT WOULD PRESERVE AN EFFECTIVELY FUNCTIONING COMMITTEE. BUT WE DO NOT WANT TO APPEAR TO BE

PRESSING THE FRENCH TO MOVE IMMEDIATELY ON CCD PARTICIPATION. IF FRENCH CONDITIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP REMAIN AS STATED BY ANDREANNI IN REFTEL, THERE WOULD CLEARLY BE CONSIDERABLE COMPLICATIONS IN WORKING OUT A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENT. IF THEY HAVE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR REORGANIZATION, WE WILL CONSIDER THEM SERIOUSLY. IN ANY CASE, AS SOVIETS HAVE RAISED THE ISSUE WITH US, WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE AS CLEAR A PICTURE AS POSSIBLE OF CURRENT FRENCH THINKING ON CCD.

3. WITH THESE OBJECTIVES IN MIND, YOU SHOULD APPROACH QUAI (PRESUMABLY PAGNIEZ OR MISTRAL), SHOW THEM TEXTS OF SOVIET PAPER AND OUR PROPOSED RESPONSE, AND ELICIT CURRENT STATE OF FRENCH POLICY TOWARD CCD.

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4. FOLLOWING QUESTIONS MAY BE USEFUL IN GUIDING DISCUSSION TOWARD AREAS OF CURRENT INTEREST TO US AND IN DRAWING FRENCH OFFICIALS OUT. YOU SHOULD, OF COURSE, AVOID SIGNALLING ANY US DESIRE TO PUSH THE FRENCH TO MOVE FASTER ON CCD THAN THEY MAY CONTEMPLATE AND WE WOULD NOT WANT TO APPEAR TO BE BARGAINING WITH THE FRENCH.

(A) DOES THE SUMMARY IN REFTEL STILL REPRESENT FRENCH THINKING?

(B) ARE THE FRENCH CONSIDERING ANY SPECIFIC IDEAS AS TO SUBSTITUTES THAT MIGHT BE GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE FOR THE PRESENT CO-CHAIRMANSHIP ARRANGEMENT?

(C) IF THE FRENCH RAISE THE ISSUE OF "NON-REPRESENTATIVENESS" OF THE CCD (REFERRED TO IN REFTEL), WHAT DO THEY HAVE IN MIND IN THIS REGARD? EMBASSY MAY, IF IT FEELS IT APPROPRIATE IN THE CONVERSATION, INDICATE OUR PRESENT BELIEF THAT THE CCD HAS A QUITE WELL-BALANCED MEMBERSHIP. FYI. WE WOULD, OF COURSE, BE INTERESTED IF THE FRENCH VOLUNTEERED THAT IT WAS THEIR VIEW THAT "NON-REPRESENTATIVENESS" RESULTS FROM ABSENCE OF CHINA. END FYI.

(D) IF THE FRENCH, AS IN REFTTEL, RAISE QUESTION REGARDING THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE OF THE CCD'S WORK, DO THE FRENCH HAVE ANY ADDITIONAL SPECIFIC THOUGHTS ON THIS?

(E) DO THE FRENCH (ASSUMING THEY ARE THINKING OF A NUMBER OF CHANGES AFFECTING THE CCD) HAVE IN MIND THAT THESE SHOULD ALL TAKE PLACE BEFORE OCCUPYING THEIR SEAT?

(F) CAN THE FRENCH TELL US ANYTHING MORE ABOUT SOVIET THINKING ON THESE OR RELATED ISSUES?

(G) DO THE FRENCH HAVE IN MIND ANY GENERAL TIMING, OR METHOD, FOR WORKING OUT POSSIBLE CHANGES AND FOR ACTUAL
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FRENCH PARTICIPATION?

5. THE TEXT OF THE PAPER LEFT WITH US ON JULY 12 BY THE SOVIETS, WHICH YOU MAY GIVE THE FRENCH, IS AS FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT: IN THE COURSE OF THE RECENT TALKS OF GENERAL SECRETARY AND PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET L.I. BREZHNEV WITH PRESIDENT OF FRANCE GISCARD D'ESTAING, THE LATTER SAID THAT FRANCE INTENDS TO STUDY THE QUESTION OF FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN THE GENEVA DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE WITH THE REORGANIZATION OF THE PROCEDURE OF CHAIRMANSHIP IN THAT COMMITTEE. (PARAGRAPH) ON THE SOVIET PART, A POSITIVE IN PRINCIPLE ATTITUDE WAS EXPRESSED TOWARD THE PARTICIPATION OF FRANCE IN THE WORK OF THE GENEVA COMMITTEE AS WELL AS OUR READINESS TO BE FLEXIBLE REGARDING THE CHAIRMANSHIP IN IT. IN OUR VIEW, PROCEDURAL QUESTION SUCH AS FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN CO-CHAIRMANSHIP SHOULD NOT BE AN OBSTACLE FOR FRENCH INVOLVEMENT IN THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE. ENGAGING THE POLITICAL POTENTIAL OF SUCH A COUNTRY LIKE FRANCE IN DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD HAVE, IN OUR OPINION, AN IMPORTANT SIGNIFICANCE. (PARAGRAPH) NATURALLY, WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT WHILE REORGANIZING THE INSTITUTE OF CHAIRMANSHIP THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMITTEE SHOULD REMAIN INTACT: ADOPTION OF ITS DECISIONS BY CONSENSUS, LIMITED WORKING COMPOSITION OF ITS BODY AND ITS INDEPENDENCE IN RELATION TO THE UN. (PARAGRAPH) WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW THE US VIEWS ON THIS MATTER. END TEXT.

6. TEXT OF RESPONSE WE INTEND TO MAKE TO SOVIETS, WHICH YOU MAY SHOW TO FRENCH, FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT: THE UNITED STATES UNDERSTANDS AS INDICATED BY PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING IN TALKS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY
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AND PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM BREZHNEV THAT FRANCE INTENDS TO STUDY THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT IN CONNECTION WITH VARIOUS QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE ORGANIZATION AND WORK OF THE COMMITTEE. (PARAGRAPH) WE SHARE, OF COURSE, THE POSITIVE ATTITUDE EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET UNION TOWARD THE PARTICIPATION OF FRANCE IN THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE AND ARE READY TO CONSIDER FLEXIBLY ANY SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS THE FRENCH MAY HAVE. WE FURTHER SHARE THE VIEW THAT IN ANY REORGANIZATION CERTAIN BASIC PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMITTEE, SUCH AS THOSE REFERRED TO BY THE SOVIET UNION, SHOULD REMAIN INTACT. (PARAGRAPH) THE UNITED STATES WILL OF COURSE WANT TO DISCUSS WITH THE USSR, AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE, ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSALS THAT MAY BE PUT FORWARD AS A RESULT OF THE FRENCH STUDY. END TEXT. VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEMBERSHIP, DISARMAMENT, AGREEMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 25-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE173564
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: AFNEIDLE:PM/DCA:LBRECKON
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770265-0509
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770721/aaaaasjy.tel
Line Count: 190
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 4dbb8264-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 PARIS 17318
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1756777
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET DEMARCHE ON FRENCH CCD MEMBERSHIP
TAGS: PARM, US, UR, FR, CCD
To: PARIS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/4dbb8264-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009